THE INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA

IMDB Profile Series

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FOREWORD

Whether talking about an inter-provincial, an inter-urban, or an urban-rural phenomenon, migration patterns are drawing more and more interest from policy makers. As services are devolved from federal to provincial agencies, and as our metropolitan centres become increasingly diverse along cultural lines, the effects of population movements, in particular the movement of immigrants across provinces and between cities, must be more clearly understood. Just as immigration impacts on the demographic, economic and socio-cultural structures of both the immigrant-sending and immigrant-receiving countries, so too does secondary migration impact on those same societal structures within the country, albeit on a finer geographic scale.

Regarding the issue of the secondary migration of immigrants the most often asked questions still concern the number of people moving, and the speed and frequency with which immigrants move once in Canada. These basic questions are still being asked in large part because of the lack of available longitudinal data, specific to immigrants, which allows us to comprehensively measure this phenomenon.

The Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) affords us the data to examine migration patterns as a result of its unique linkage between the information captured through the administration of the immigration and taxation programs. This linkage allows the identification of immigrants through their landing visas, and it allows the tracking (on an annual basis) of the location of those immigrants through the province and postal codes captured from their tax returns.

The information presented in this report pertains to immigrant taxfilers landed over the 1980 to 1995 period. Immigrant taxfilers contained in the IMDB are distinguished from the whole of the immigrant population landed over the period through the linkage of their immigration visa to the taxation system. Immigrants who do not file tax returns (children for example), or for whom the linkage between the immigration and tax system failed, are absent from the database and not accounted for in the number of movers and non-movers or the calculation of migration rates presented in this profile. **As a result the actual number of movers and non-movers would be higher than those seen for taxfilers. Whether this would alter the migration rates (i.e. the proportion of immigrants moving) is unclear.**

It should be noted that although this profile reports on the characteristics of immigrant taxfilers who move at a provincial level, it does <u>not</u> deal with issues of who uses services, or whether they are immigrant specific or more general social services, when they move. While the IMDB does allow us to report on the economic behaviour and performance of immigrant taxfilers through their reporting of employment earnings, unemployment insurance benefits and social assistance benefits, it does <u>not</u> contain information on their access to, or use of specific services, and therefore cannot be used to measure the impacts of secondary migration on the use of these services, whether they are delivered by the federal or provincial governments or immigrant serving agencies.

HIGHLIGHTS

Magnitude of Secondary Migration

- Of a total 2.6 million immigrants admitted to Canada between 1980 and 1995, approximately 1.27 million were captured in the IMDB in the 1995 tax year. Of these taxfilers, just over 166,000 (13.1%) had moved from their province of original destination by 1995.
- Ontario and British Columbia were the only provinces that experienced net gains as a result of secondary migration.
    - Of taxfilers destined to Ontario between 1980 and 1995, 40,310 moved out of the province by the 1995 tax year. With in-migration of 76,295 from other provinces, this loss was offset by a factor of almost 2 to 1 and left the province with 5.4% more immigrant taxfilers than were destined there over the period.
    - Of taxfilers destined to British Columbia over the period, 18,310 moved out by 1995. In-migration of 52,675 from other provinces gave the province almost 3 in-migrants for each original resident who left, and resulted in a 17.7% net increase in its population of immigrant taxfilers between 1980 and 1995.
- Of all provinces, Quebec saw the highest absolute number of taxfilers moving out over the period (almost 44,000 of the taxfilers destined to the province left by 1995). In-migration of 12,705 up to the 1995 tax year only partially covered this loss.
- Saskatchewan experienced the largest *percentage* decrease of immigrant taxfilers over the 1980 to 1995 period. With out-migration of 9,185 people, the province lost more than 56% of taxfilers originally destined there. In-migration of just over 1,700 still left the province with a 46% **net loss** of its taxfiler population.
- It is generally within the first few years after landing that most secondary migration takes place. Tracking the location of each cohort of taxfilers, landed between 1980 and 1986 over a period of 10 years reveals that of those who moved over their 10 years of residence, almost two-thirds actually moved within their first 3 years in Canada.

Characteristics of Movers and Non-Movers - Overview

- Of the 84,980 business immigrants (and their dependents) landed over the period and captured in the 1995 tax year 21,420 had moved from their province of destination (over 25% of them). Business immigrants, therefore, exhibited the greatest likelihood of migration of the major immigrant classes.
- In comparison, 18.6% of taxfilers landed in the refugee category had moved (39,200 of the 210,570 landed over the period) and 15% (53,355) of the 356,840 taxfilers in the skilled worker category had moved.
- Higher propensities to engage in secondary migration are also related to higher levels of education, immigrants of working age (25 to 44 years of age at landing), and bilingualism.

- Of 43,900 immigrant taxfilers who had a graduate degree at landing over the 1980 to 1995 period, 20% had changed provinces by 1995.
- Immigrant taxfilers landed between 1980 and 1995 who reported ability in both official languages had the highest propensity to move. By the 1995 tax year 15% of the 53,015 bilingual taxfilers had made an interprovincial move.

Characteristics of Movers and Non-Movers - Provincial Observations

Quebec

- Almost half of the 22,595 business immigrants destined to Quebec over the 1980 to 1995 period were resident in other provinces in the 1995 tax year - only 800 were gained through in-migration. Quebec also experienced a net loss of 6,635 taxfilers who landed in the refugee category over the period – a net loss of 17.5% from the number originally destined there.

Ontario

- While the province of Ontario lost 3,140 business immigrants through out-migration over the 1980 to 1995 period, in-migration of 10,280 business immigrants who originally landed elsewhere in Canada resulted in a 28% increase in the number of taxfilers in this category. At the same time Ontario experienced a 12% net increase in the number of refugees in the province – a net increase of 13,735 refugee taxfilers.

Manitoba

- Almost half of the 10,945 refugees originally destined to Manitoba moved out by 1995 (only 615 moved in). The province also experienced a significant net loss of business immigrants over the period – almost one-third of the 2,145 destined there.

Saskatchewan

- As with Manitoba, Saskatchewan saw significant losses in the business and refugee categories. By 1995, Saskatchewan experienced a net loss of both groups equivalent to 62% of the number of taxfilers in these categories originally destined there over the period – a net loss of 700 business class immigrants and 3,530 refugees.

Alberta

- Of the 5,420 business immigrants originally destined to Alberta between 1980 and 1995, 2,030 had moved out by 1995. In-migration of almost 1,000 business immigrants over the period still left Alberta with 20% fewer taxfilers in this category than were originally destined there. The province also saw a 15% drop in the number of taxfilers landed in the refugee category and a 13.3% drop of those who landed as skilled workers (net outflows of 3,175 and 4,575 individuals respectively).

British Columbia

- The largest net increase for the province of British Columbia, in absolute terms, was seen in the skilled worker category. With a net gain of 9,740 taxfilers in this category by the 1995 tax year, B.C. had almost 21% more skilled workers than were originally destined there. In proportional terms, however, the province saw its greatest increases

in the refugee category (a 43% net increase over the period) and taxfilers landed in the business class (a net increase of 6,955 over the 24,625 destined there at landing).

Performance of Movers and Non-Movers

- Immigrant taxfilers in paid employment who moved after landing tended to earn more on the labour market than did immigrants who stayed in their province of original destination - particularly for movers who landed prior to 1991.
    - Taxfilers landed over the full 1980 to 1995 period who moved and were in paid employment in 1995 earned $22,044 on average compared to average employment earnings of $20,097 for non-movers.
- Taxfilers who landed after 1986 and who moved reported a lower incidence of receipt of UI benefits than did taxfilers who stayed in their province of destination.
    - In the 1995 tax year 13.2% of movers who landed between 1987 and 1995 reported receiving UI benefits compared to 15% of non-movers landed over the same period. For immigrants landed before 1987 the proportion of immigrant taxfilers reporting UI benefits is about the same for both movers and non-movers.
- Some 15.4% of movers (25,665 individuals) reported receiving benefits from social assistance in the 1995 tax year compared to 13.7% of non-movers.
    - One half of the 25,665 movers who received social assistance in 1995 landed in Canada as refugees. Another one-quarter came in the family class
    - In proportional terms, however, it was taxfilers in the "other" category (consisting of immigrants admitted under the administrative review and backlog clearance programs, and those admitted as retirees and live-in-caregivers) who account for the higher proportion of movers in receipt of S.A. – 23.5% of movers in these categories reported benefits as compared to 14.9% of non-movers in the same categories.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is the fourth in a series of profiles focusing on different attributes of the landed immigrant population as they are reflected in the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB). The profiles are designed to provide users of the IMDB with contextual information to guide them in the design of more analytical queries and research projects and to set out some baseline information to aid researchers in their use and interpretation of data derived from the IMDB. Other reports already completed in the IMDB profile series explore level of education, official language ability, and immigrant category as characteristics relating to the settlement experiences of immigrants. Others will focus on age and gender, and intended occupation.

This is the first of a two-part profile focusing on the secondary, or post-landing, migration patterns of immigrants in Canada. This first part deals exclusively with secondary migration on a provincial scale. Another companion profile will examine immigrant migration patterns between cities and characterize the immigrant taxfiler population resident in selected metropolitan areas.

The primary purpose of this report is to measure and describe the phenomenon of secondary migration. We do not directly attempt to examine the reasons that individuals move, nor do we attempt to unravel the decision process around the individual's choice of destination once they decide to move[1].

The secondary purpose of this profile is to demonstrate the multiple levels of geography that can be explored using the IMDB, and present some new and unique information regarding the spatial concentrations of immigrants made possible by the immigration-taxation linkage that underlies the database.

Layout

The report is divided into seven sections. In the first section terminology and definitions of the measures of migration used within the profile are discussed. The second section provides an aggregate overview of the ultimate impacts of secondary migration by comparing the number of immigrant taxfilers destined to each province over the 1980 to 1995 period and the number resident in each province in the 1995 tax year. The third section more specifically compares the levels of in-migration to out-migration for each province. Measures of the timing of migration – i.e. how soon immigrant taxfilers move after being admitted to Canada – are presented in section four. In and out-migration trends are also discussed within this section for selected taxfiler landing cohorts.

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[1] There is a well-established academic literature dealing with the causal factors associated with migration. This body of work examines factors specific to the individual – suggesting that certain types of people have a greater likelihood of migration – to factors specific to the locations people move between – defining the "push" and "pull" factors which influence the migration process.

The remaining three sections of the report describe movers and non-movers in the immigrant taxfiler population according to key immigrant characteristics captured at the time of landing, and compare various measures of economic performance of the two groups in the 1995 tax year.

DEFINITIONS AND CONVENTIONS OF MEASUREMENT

The information available within the IMDB allows researchers to examine immigrant taxfilers across a number of levels of defined geography[2]. Although a comprehensive treatment of all areas of Canada across all levels of measured geography falls well beyond the scope of this two-part profile, specific examples of immigrant mobility and/or immigrant concentration are presented for commonly used levels of geography. This first part describes migration at a provincial level, and the second profile will discuss secondary migration between and within selected metropolitan areas. These examples are intended to fill an information gap in this research area, and will focus on the major trends observed for the immigrant population landed since 1980.

In order to measure mobility patterns for immigrants, two sets of location information in the IMDB are used. The place of original destination (at the time of landing) is taken from the immigrant visa captured by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (IMM1000). The residence location is derived from either the province of residence or the postal code identified on each person's personal income tax return (the T1). At its most basic level, a comparison of information between the place of original destination and the place of residence in a given tax year will indicate whether or not a person had moved. However, the information captured within the IMDB allows us to go much further:

- because of the longitudinal character of the IMDB, the residence location for each taxfiler can be examined at each point in time that the individual files a tax return – allowing an examination of their migration behaviour on an annual basis over an extended period of time;
- examining the financial data from the T1 enables comparisons of performance between movers and non-movers through such measures as employment earnings, unemployment insurance benefits and benefits received in the form of social assistance; and
- the linkage to the immigration file allows us to characterize immigrant groups who are more or less likely to engage in secondary migration in policy relevant terms.

Coverage of the IMDB

Between the years 1980 and 1995 some 2.6 million immigrants and refugees were admitted as permanent residents to Canada. With coverage across all tax years over the same period, the IMDB contains information on just over 1.5 million of those individuals. As such it contains information on roughly 58% of all immigrants landed over the period (or 67% of immigrants who were of working age at landing), or about one-third of the 4.97 million immigrants resident in the country as of the 1996 Census.

Most of the information presented within this profile focuses on the 1995 tax year – the most recent year of observation currently available in the IMDB – and measures the stock

[2] For comparability across commonly used information sources, all geographic definitions used within the IMDB correspond to those found in the 1991 Census of the Canadian population. Development plans for the IMDB include the incorporation of 1996 Census geography definitions – which differ significantly from those used in 1991.

of immigrants landed over the full 1980 to 1995 period who filed a tax return in 1995. The information on migration that is presented, therefore, represents the difference between an immigrant's original stated place of destination at the time he or she was admitted as a permanent resident to Canada and his or her place of residence in the 1995 tax year.

Measuring Migration – a few principles

The first measure of migration used within this profile is that of a simple **net change** (expressed as a net gain or net loss) of immigrant taxfilers observed in a particular place. Reporting provincial level information in this paper, the net change represents the overall change - increase or decrease - in the taxfiler population over the period as a percent of those originally destined to the province.

The net change in population is the final result of **in-migration** and **out-migration** experienced by a province. In-migration (as captured in the 1995 tax year) is defined to be the number of immigrant taxfilers resident in a particular province in 1995 who were not originally destined there according to their landing visa. Out-migration, on the other hand, captures the number of immigrants destined to a province who no longer resided there as of the 1995 tax year.

These two elements taken together yield the concept of a **turnover rate** (or replacement rate) defined to be the simple ratio of in-migration to out-migration. A turnover rate of 1 would indicate that a province gained the same number of immigrants through in-migration as it lost due to out-migration – meaning there was no net change in the size of their immigrant taxfiler population. A turnover rate greater than 1 would mean that in-migration was greater in absolute terms than was out-migration, more than replenishing the group lost through out-migration. A turnover rate less than one would indicate that out-migration was larger.

Another interesting indicator in the examination of secondary migration is that group of immigrants who do **not** move – i.e. stayers. The population resident in a province at a point in time will be comprised of a group who were destined elsewhere and moved into the area, and a group who were originally destined there and stayed. The size of the latter group is used to measure province-specific **retention rates**. Specifically, retention rates refer to the group of immigrant taxfilers who were originally destined to a province and stayed there as a percentage of the total group originally destined there. The remainder – those individuals destined to a province who moved away – expressed as a percentage of the total group destined there would give us the **erosion rate** for the province.

Finally, it should be noted that only those immigrants who are resident in Canada and filing taxes are included in any calculation of migration rates. That is to say that immigrants who leave the country or do not file a tax return in the year of observation are not accounted for in any calculations within this profile[3].

[3] Although it is possible in some cases to identify immigrant groups in the IMDB who subsequently leave Canada, the topic of emigration is not specifically dealt with here.

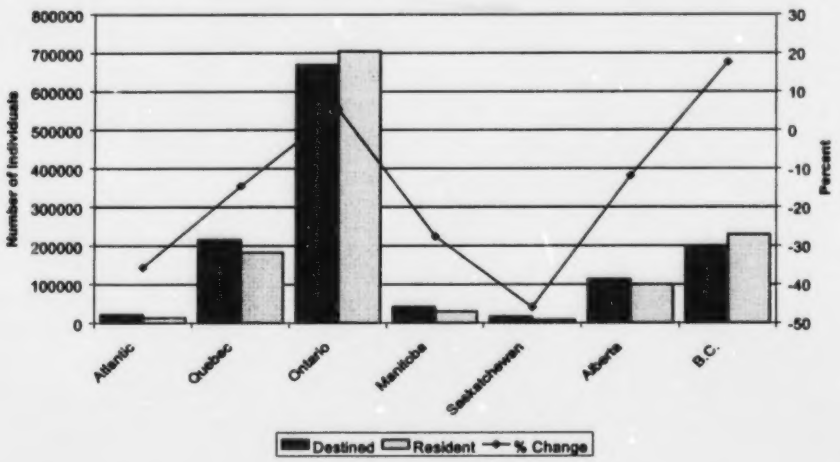
ULTIMATE OUTCOMES – THE PROVINCIAL STORY

To first quantify the interprovincial movement of immigrants, chart 1 shows the stock of immigrants[4] – aggregated over landing years 1980 to 1995 – originally destined to each province upon admission, and their province of residence in the 1995 tax year. The bars in the chart represent the absolute numbers of individual taxfilers and are read off the left vertical axis. The data points on the chart, connected by the line, represent the percentage increase or decrease – i.e. the net change - of immigrants resident in each province with respect to the number originally destined. These data points are read off of the right vertical axis.

Summing over the 1980 to 1995 period the most popular destinations for immigrants, in order of magnitude, were Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia. Of the 1.27 million immigrant taxfilers captured in the IMDB in the 1995 tax year, some 668,625 were originally destined to Ontario (about 53%). Another 214,700 went to Quebec, and 194,565 went to British Columbia. Alberta was the destination to just under 9% of immigrants landed over the period, and the Atlantic, Manitoba and Saskatchewan combined took in about 6.3% of all landings (Table 1).

Chart 1

Province of Original Destination and Province of Residence in the 1995 Tax Year - Immigrants Landed Between 1980 and 1995



The consequences of secondary migration can be seen by examining the province of residence declared on immigrants' 1995 tax returns. As chart 1 demonstrates, Ontario and British Columbia were the only provinces to experience a net gain of immigrants due to secondary migration. Roughly 5.4% more immigrants were resident in Ontario in 1995 than were destined there over the full 1980 to 1995 period (a net increase of 35,985 people). The province of British Columbia experienced a net increase of similar

[4] Once again, the statistics presented refer to immigrant taxfilers and not the total immigrant population

magnitude (34,365 immigrant taxfilers). However, because of the much smaller number of immigrants originally destined to British Columbia, the **proportional** increase in B.C. stood at 17.7% (more than 3 times the percentage increase for Ontario).

By contrast, the net change for Quebec left the province with 31,235 fewer immigrant taxfilers in 1995 than were destined there over the period – a drop of 14.5%.

The province of Saskatchewan experienced the greatest net loss (in percentage terms) of immigrant taxfilers over the period. Going from a total of 16,300 taxfilers destined to Saskatchewan between 1980 and 1995, only 8,825 taxfilers in the IMDB were resident there in 1995 – a decline of almost 46% (Table 1/Chart 1).

As for the remaining provinces:

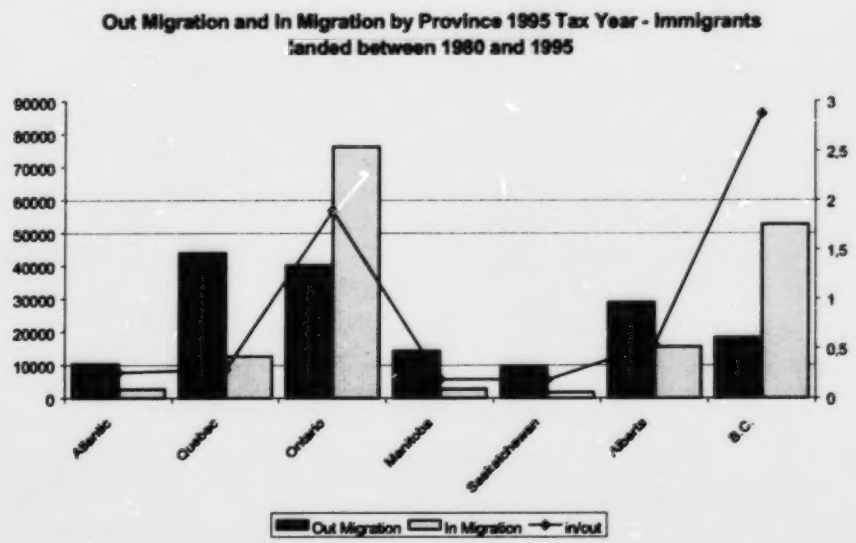
- Alberta, the destination to 113,135 immigrant taxfilers over the period, experienced a decrease of 11.8% (a net loss of 13,370 people) by the 1995 tax year;
- Manitoba had 11,535 fewer immigrant taxfilers resident in 1995 than were destined there over the full period (a decrease of 27.6% from the 41,855 originally destined); and
- The Atlantic Provinces saw a 35.6% decrease in immigrant taxfilers – from 21,530 destined there between 1980 and 1995, to a total of 13,860 resident in the 1995 tax year.

TURNOVER – IN VERSUS OUT-MIGRATION

The outcomes described above are measured as the *net change* between the stock of all immigrant taxfilers resident in each province as of 1995 minus the stock of those originally destined there at the time they landed. What we cannot see from these net changes is the amount of activity (i.e. the number of moves taking place) that resulted in those outcomes. Nor can we measure a province's retention (or erosion) of its taxfiler population – for example, from chart 1 we do not know how many of those taxfilers resident in each province in 1995 were in fact originally destined there and stayed.

The bars in chart 2 present the **flows** of immigrant taxfilers landed over the 1980 to 1995 period who moved in and out of each province by the 1995 tax year. These bars, again, are read off of the left vertical axis of the chart. The data points in chart 2 plot the ratios of in-migrants to out-migrants – the province's turnover rate – and are read off of the right axis. This complements chart 1: calculating the difference between the flow of movers into a province net of the flow of movers out of the province equals the net changes in the taxfiler population reported above.

Chart 2



Whereas Ontario and British Columbia both experienced roughly the same net inflow of immigrant taxfilers up to the 1995 tax year, the number of moves and the ratio of in-migration to out-migration are quite different.

Of immigrants originally destined to Ontario between 1980 and 1995, some 40,310 moved out of the province by the 1995 tax year. This loss was more than offset with 76,295 taxfilers moving in from other provinces. These numbers combined with the information in chart 1 yield a retention rate for Ontario of 94% and a turnover rate of 1.9 (indicated by the data point for Ontario in chart 2). That is, 94% of the 668,625

immigrant taxfilers originally destined to Ontario were still resident there in 1995, and for every one of the 40,310 taxfilers who left the province by the 1995 tax year, 1.9 immigrants moved in (Table 1).

In contrast, British Columbia retained only 90.6% of those taxfilers originally destined there (having lost 18,310 individuals through out-migration), but had in-migration of 52,675, giving them a turnover rate of 2.9 – a full point higher than seen for the province of Ontario.

Since the remaining provinces all experienced a net loss of immigrant taxfilers over the period (chart 1), their turnover rates are all less than 1.

Of all provinces, Quebec lost the highest absolute number of immigrant taxfilers destined to the province. Having lost almost 44,000 of the 214,700 taxfilers originally destined there, Quebec's retention rate over the period was 79.5%, and having in-migration of 12,705 experienced a turnover rate of 0.29. Stated another way, by 1995 Quebec lost 20.5% of taxfilers originally destined there and over the period 3.4 immigrants left the province for each immigrant who moved in (Table 1).

Saskatchewan registered the lowest retention rate of all provinces, having lost more than 56% of the immigrant taxfilers destined there by 1995 (thus keeping only 44%). This, coupled with a turnover rate of 0.19 (for each person moving into Saskatchewan *more than 5 left*) led Saskatchewan to experience the largest net loss of all provinces due to secondary migration (chart 1).

To complete the provincial picture:

- With 14,305 individuals moving out of the province by 1995 and 2,770 moving in, Manitoba had the same turnover rate as Saskatchewan over the period, 0.19. However, the province retained almost two-thirds of its originally destined immigrants. This, and the larger number of originally destined taxfilers, resulted in its total net change of -27.6% reported in chart 1.
- The province of Alberta lost 28,945 of the immigrant taxfilers originally destined there, resulting in a retention rate of 74.4%. This was partially offset with 15,575 immigrants moving into the province by 1995, yielding a turnover rate of 0.54.
- Although 2,670 immigrants landed over the 1980 to 1995 period moved into the Atlantic provinces by 1995, 10,340 moved out (a 4 to 1 ratio of out-migrants to in-migrants). This results in a retention rate of slightly over half of those immigrants originally destined to the region, and accounts for a net change of –35.6% over the period.

As a general summary, Table 1 presents, for each province, the number of immigrant taxfilers destined over the 1980 to 1995 period (column 1) and the number resident in the 1995 tax year (column 5). The number of out-migrants and in-migrants are recorded in columns 2 and 4 respectively, and a count of taxfilers destined to each province at the time of landing who remained in that province in the 1995 tax year is presented in column 3. For ease of reference the turnover rates and retention rates are given in columns 6 and 7.

Table 1
In and Out-migration by Province: Immigrants landed over the 1980 to 1995 period - 1995 Tax Year

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Province	**Destined at landing**	**Out-Migration**	**Dest. & Res. In '95**	**In-Migration**	**Res. in '95**	**Turnover Rate**	**Retention Rate**
Atlantic	21,530	10,340	11,190	2,670	13,860	0.26	52.0%
Quebec	214,700	43,940	170,760	12,705	183,465	0.29	79.5%
Ontario	668,625	40,310	628,315	76,295	704,610	1.89	94.0%
Manitoba	41,855	14,305	27,550	2,770	30,320	0.19	65.8%
Saskatchewan	16,300	9,185	7,115	1,710	8,825	0.19	43.7%
Alberta	113,135	28,945	84,190	15,575	99,765	0.54	74.4%
British Columbia	194,565	18,310	176,255	52,675	228,930	2.88	90.6%

TIMING OF MIGRATION – HOW LONG DOES IT TAKE?

Up to now the interprovincial movement of immigrant taxfilers has been measured at a point in time (the 1995 tax year) for all immigrants landed over the full period of time (1980 to 1995). This gives us a measure of the total number of people who moved over the period irrespective of their year of admission. Although this is a necessary step in measuring the magnitude of secondary migration and accounting for the changes in the taxfiler population over time, it does not allow for an examination of the *timing* of migration.

The purpose of this section is to gain an understanding of the time it takes after immigrating to Canada before taxfilers engage in secondary migration. For this purpose, several landing year cohorts are tracked each year after landing. The patterns of interprovincial movement over time in Canada are compared across landing cohorts, and the patterns of in and out-migration are compared by province for selected landing cohorts.

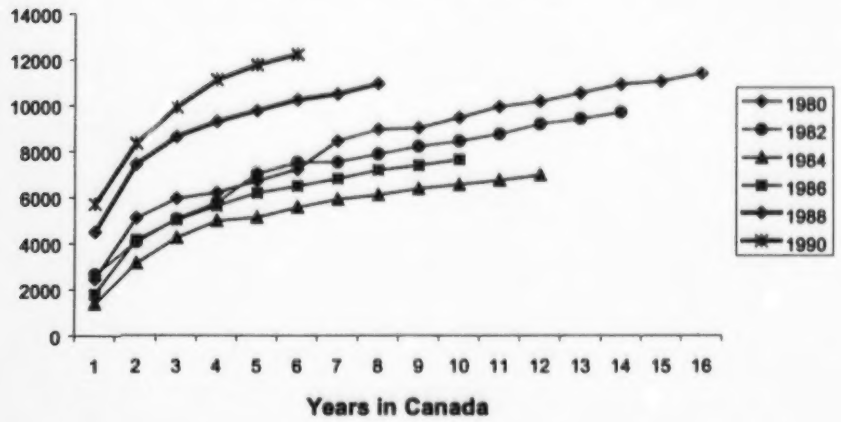
The findings indicate that the proportions of different immigrant landing year cohorts who move from their province of original destination are remarkably consistent through time in Canada, and just as different provinces experience varying rates of retention and turnover, so too do they differ in the timing of the in and out-migration that they have experienced.

Cohort Timing Patterns

Chart 3 shows, for various immigrant cohorts, the cumulative numbers of individual taxfilers who had made an interprovincial move for each tax year after landing. Chart 4 shows the same information, with the movers expressed as percentages of the cohorts of immigrant taxfilers captured in the IMDB in each tax year.

Chart 3

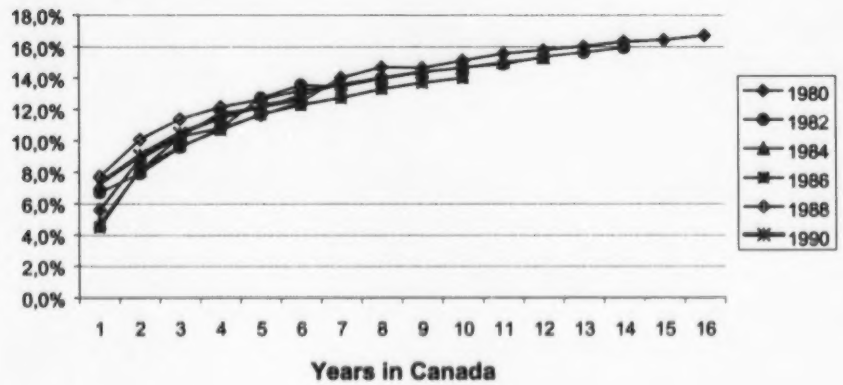
Cumulative Number of Interprovincial Movers by Immigrant Cohort and Years in Canada



There are clearly differences in the number of immigrant taxfilers from different landing years who made interprovincial moves (chart 3). However, with some fairly minor exceptions, all of the lines accounting for the cohorts landed between 1980 and 1990 seem to be of similar *slope*, and therefore follow the same general path. Furthermore, when the sizes of the overall cohorts are taken into account, the *proportion* of movers that these numbers represent are strikingly similar (chart 4). That the lines in chart 4 are not easily distinguished from one another, indicates that the migration behaviour of the different immigrant cohorts, in terms of the timing of movement, are relatively consistent with one another.

Chart 4

Cumulative Percentage of Interprovincial Movers by Immigrant Cohort and Years in Canada



The curved shape of the lines in chart 4 also gives us a first look at the timing of moves after immigrants are admitted to Canada. The data points on each curve rise with each successive year since landing, but not at the same rate. The proportion of each landing year cohort observed moving increases faster within the first few years after landing than for later years. For example, if we examine the proportion of movers over time for the 1980 cohort (chart 4), we see that about 16.7% of all immigrants who landed in 1980, and filed a tax return in 1995, had moved from their province of original destination – that is after 16 years of residence in Canada. Taking the same cohort only 3 years after landing we see that, of those who filed in 1983, 10.3% had moved. It is within the first few years after landing that the bulk of migration takes place. This same trend is apparent in the migration behaviour of each taxfiler cohort that landed between 1980 and 1990.

But again, these charts provide summary information on the number and proportion of movers from each cohort at a national level. They do not demonstrate the experiences of the different provinces, nor do they allow us to see the type of mover (i.e. into the province or out of the province) that these numbers represent. To illustrate these provincial experiences, table 2 shows the numbers and percentages of movers both in and

out of each province for the 1980, 1985 and 1990 landing year cohorts, three years after landing. The first 5 columns in table 2 are defined the same way as those in table 1. The out-migration rate (% Out) shown in table 2 is simply out-migration as a percentage of taxfilers destined to the province. The in-migration rate (% In) represents in-migration as a percentage of those destined and still resident in that province three years after landing. The final column gives the 3-year turnover rate for each province (the ratio of in-migration to out-migration).

Table 2 – In and Out-Migration by Province – 1980, 1985 and 1990 Cohorts, 3 Years After Landing*

Province	Destined	Out Migration	Destined & Resident	In Migration	Resident	% Out	% In	Turnover
Quebec	6575	1180	7815	460	8035	12.9	6.3	0.42
Ontario	23150	1535	34015	2110	28525	6.4	8.8	1.39
Manitoba	3335	625	2715	235	2350	18.7	7.5	0.38
Saskatchewan	1315	480	830	180	1095	36.5	21.7	0.38
Alberta	7450	975	6800	1990	8040	13.1	28.3	1.88
BC	9800	940	8650	1265	9820	9.5	14.8	1.39

Province	Destined	Out Migration	Destined & Resident	In Migration	Resident	% Out	% In	Turnover
Quebec	6820	855	8335	370	8910	12.9	6.1	0.42
Ontario	23755	740	21015	2880	22875	3.8	14.3	3.88
Manitoba	1550	535	1305	175	1480	27.1	8.2	0.22
Saskatchewan	855	485	420	65	485	54.8	16.7	0.14
Alberta	4210	930	3285	325	3810	22.8	10.0	0.34
BC	6335	830	5385	845	5940	13.1	12.2	0.91

Province	Destined	Out Migration	Destined & Resident	In Migration	Resident	% Out	% In	Turnover
Quebec	17525	3310	14815	810	15465	18.5	6.0	0.27
Ontario	52350	3320	40160	4850	50010	6.2	9.9	1.51
Manitoba	3335	1130	2315	185	2540	32.3	7.0	0.15
Saskatchewan	1150	485	445	120	1115	52.3	27.3	0.25
Alberta	8345	1455	6850	1335	7845	17.9	19.0	0.73
BC	12080	885	11185	3810	15045	7.4	24.5	4.30

*** Numbers may not add across columns due to the random rounding of tabular information from the IMDB**

**** Calculated percentages of in and out-migration are derived using different denominators and are not directly comparable: %out=(out-migration/destined)*100; %in=(in-migration/destined&resident)*100**

At a national level, between 11 and 11.5% of each of the three taxfiler cohorts had moved over their first three years in Canada. At a provincial level, experiences are varied:

- Although the numbers for individual landing years are different, Ontario and Quebec and Alberta typically experienced the largest losses, in absolute terms – together accounting for well over half of all interprovincial movers within a cohort's first three years of residence in Canada. This is not a great surprise considering that the three provinces combined accounted for about three-quarters of all taxfilers upon landing.

- Saskatchewan demonstrated the highest *proportional loss* of immigrant taxfilers within each of the three cohorts after 3 years of residence. Of taxfilers who landed in 1980 and were destined to Saskatchewan, 36.5% had left by the 1983 tax year. By comparison, the province's losses of the 1985 and 1990 cohorts were both over 50% after each cohort was in the country for three years. In-migration to Saskatchewan, on the other hand was as low as 16.7% for the 1985 cohort three years after landing, and as high as 27.3% for the 1990 cohort)
- In 1993 the province of Quebec registered a loss of over 3,300 taxfilers from the 1990 cohort with in-migration at only 880. At the same time Ontario had an inflow of 4,860 taxfilers from the 1990 cohort in the 1993 tax year while experiencing losses of roughly the same magnitude as Quebec.
- The most substantial change in migration behaviour across the three cohorts is seen for British Columbia. Where B.C. shows a small net gain of immigrant taxfilers who landed in 1980 after three years of residence, for the 1985 cohort they show a slight net loss after their being in Canada for three years. In contrast to these observations, for the 1990 landings more than four times as many taxfilers moved into B.C. by 1993 than left the province – a net gain of 2965 individuals (3860 in-migrants –895 out-migrants).

Provincial Timing Patterns – the 1985 cohort

To further compare provincial experiences of secondary migration, charts 5(a) through 5(f) give a more detailed look at the patterns and timing of moves by province[5] – using for illustrative purposes the 1985 immigrant cohort. Within these charts movers into each province are distinguished from movers out. These charts again represent cumulative migration patterns after the arrival of the 1985 cohort.

The in and out-migration patterns for Saskatchewan and Manitoba are strikingly similar. Out-migration from these provinces takes place quickly. There is a sharp rise of the out-migration curve within the first few years after landing. There is, however, a flattening of the out-migration curve for Saskatchewan by the cohort's fifth year of residence in Canada – suggesting that almost all of the out-migration from the province occurs within 5 years of landing. The out-migration curve for Manitoba does continue to rise over the 10 years shown, but of the 735 people who landed in Manitoba in 1985 and moved out over the 10 year period, 605 of them (82.3%) left by the fifth year of residence. The in-migration curves for both provinces are also similar. The curves are flat from about the second year of residence onward – suggesting that however many movers Saskatchewan and Manitoba receive through in-migration, the inflow was experienced within 2 to 3 years of the immigrant cohort residing in Canada.

Ontario and British Columbia, the two provinces that gain overall as a result of migration (chart 1), have experienced very different patterns over time. Where the inflow into Ontario is immediate and substantial up to the third or fourth year of the cohort's residence in Canada, British Columbia actually experienced a net *loss* of immigrant taxfilers who landed in 1985 over their first 4 years of residence. The in-migration curve

[5] Note that the scales vary across the charts as the levels of migration differ significantly from one province to another.

Chart 5a

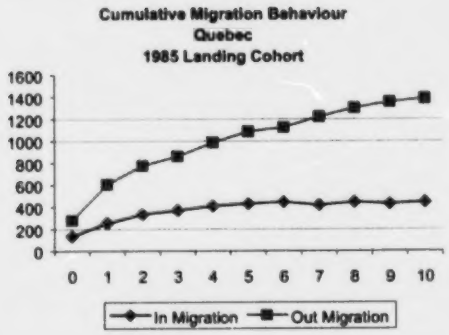


Chart 5b

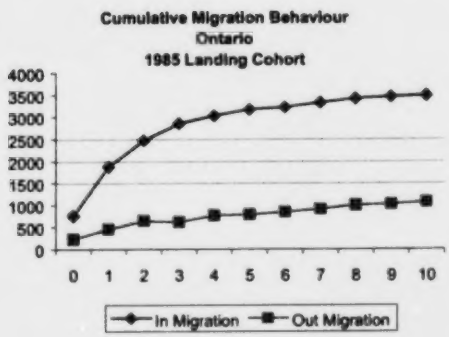


Chart 5c

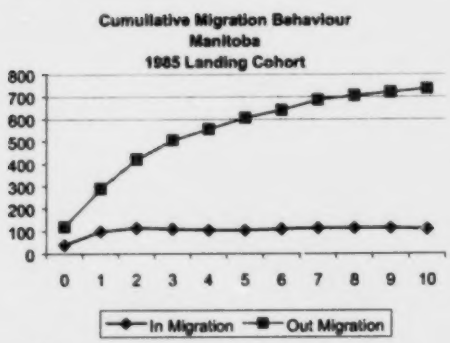


Chart 5d

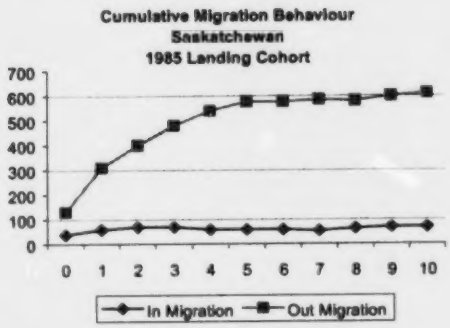


Chart 5e

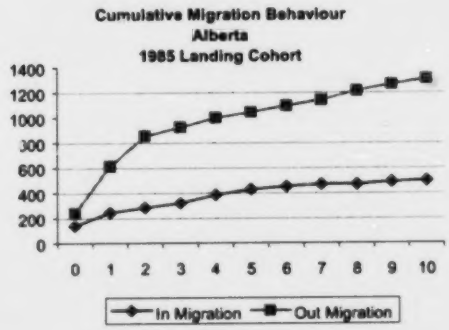
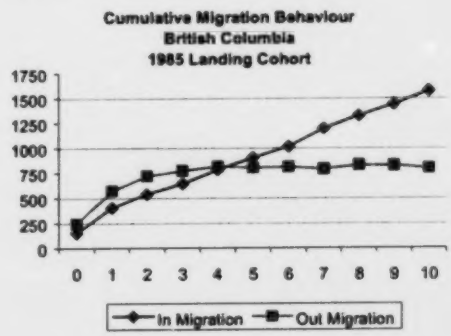


Chart 5f



for Ontario flattens out as movement into the province curtails after the cohort's 5th year in Canada, meaning that the vast majority of taxfilers moving into the province over the 10 year period, did so within the first 5 years of residence in Canada. British Columbia on the other hand, seems to have experienced a fairly steady inflow over the full 10 year period shown – the curve retains a steady upward slope.

When examining out-migration patterns for the two provinces, the situation is reversed. Ontario showed a steadily increasing out-migration from the province, where B.C. experienced losses over the first 4 years of the 1985 cohort's residence – with out-migration stabilizing thereafter.

The provinces of Quebec and Alberta experienced a mixture of these types of patterns:

For Quebec, out-migration seemed fairly steady, with a slight dampening of the outflow by the end of the 10-year period. In-migration took place over the first 4 to 5 years the cohort being in Canada.

Although out-migration from Alberta continued to rise over the full 10 years, much of the outflow occurred within the cohort's first 2 years in Canada (of the 1310 people who moved out over 10 years, some 855 – almost two-thirds - left within 2 years of residence). The increase in population due to in-migration to the province over the same time tended to be fairly constant.

Beyond the 1985 Cohort

An examination of the migration behaviour of immigrant taxfilers landed prior to 1985 yields the same general in and out-migration patterns over time for each of the provinces as seen above. However, some of these patterns do change somewhat for later cohorts[6].

Quebec

Overall the patterns shown for the 1985 cohort hold for all landing cohorts between 1980 and 1990. Out-migration has always been higher than in-migration for the province, but for taxfilers landed in the late 1980's the magnitude of out-migration from Quebec, relative the level of in-migration to the province, increased. This would be demonstrated in the charts above as an even greater distance between the two curves.

Ontario

Although Ontario has always experienced net inflows of immigrant taxfilers through secondary migration, the migration behaviour of cohorts landed after 1988 has the in and out-migration curves running relatively closer together and fairly parallel with each other. As with Quebec, this indicates that for later cohorts the ratio of out-migration to in-migration for the province had increased.

[6] In and out-migration patterns were reviewed for each of the provinces for all taxfiler cohorts landed between 1980 and 1990 separately. As the IMDB currently contains information up to the 1995 tax year, cohorts landed between 1991 and 1995 can not yet be tracked for a sufficient period of time to clearly establish their longer term migration trends after landing in Canada.

Manitoba and Saskatchewan

The patterns of in and out-migration seen for Manitoba and Saskatchewan using the 1985 cohort (chart 5c and chart 5d) are repeated for all cohorts between 1980 and 1990. The two provinces have always experienced increasing net outflows of immigrant taxfilers over a cohort's period of residence in Canada. Cohorts typically leave these provinces very soon after landing, and the level of in-migration they do experience occurs within the first few years

Alberta

Where Ontario experienced increased outflows of taxfilers landed in the late 1980's, Alberta had a relatively higher level of **in**-migration of taxfilers landed after 1988 than it experienced for earlier cohorts. Although the number of people moving out of the province always outweighed the number moving in, net loses for the province, in proportional terms, were lower for later admissions than they were for cohorts who landed at the beginning of the 1980's.

British Columbia

As with the 1985 cohort shown in chart 5f, British Columbia either experienced an initial net loss of taxfilers through secondary migration or had seen in and out-migration roughly on par with each other for all cohorts landed between 1980 and 1987. Starting with the 1988 landing cohort, however, the migration patterns for British Columbia look very similar to those shown for Ontario above (chart 5 b) – showing immediate and substantial net in-migration of immigrant taxfilers.

PROFILING THE MOVERS – A NATIONAL OVERVIEW

In the charts that follow, we examine the characteristics of immigrant taxfilers who have moved and compare these characteristics to the group of taxfilers who remained within their province of original destination. We again take all immigrants landed over the full 1980 to 1995 period, noting their province of destination at landing, and take as the point of observation their residence province in the 1995 tax year.

The major characteristics shown here are immigrant category, level of education, official language ability, age and gender. These characteristics are related to migration at a national level in this section (i.e. identifying individuals as movers or non-movers irrespective of their place of destination and residence). A discussion of the experiences of each province follows.

Table 3, at the end of this section, presents a summary view of information discussed here. Within the table the numbers and distributions of all taxfilers, movers and non-movers are presented side-by-side for each of the characteristics (admission category, education, language ability, age and gender). This allows us to compare the *composition* of all taxfilers as a whole to the composition of movers and non-movers. The final column in the table gives the *propensity to move*, calculated as the percent of individuals with the given characteristic observed moving by 1995.

Distribution by Immigrant Category

Chart 6 shows the distribution of movers and non-movers by major immigrant category. The bars show the proportion of movers within each major immigrant category and the proportion of non-movers within each category side by side, and the line simply plots the ratio of movers to non-movers in each immigrant category. Bars of the same height would indicate that a particular immigrant category is equally represented in both movers and non-movers, and would correspond to a ratio of 1. Inequalities would, on the other hand, indicate a relative over (or under) representation in a particular group, and would lend evidence to the increased (or decreased) likelihood of a given category of immigrant engaging in secondary migration.

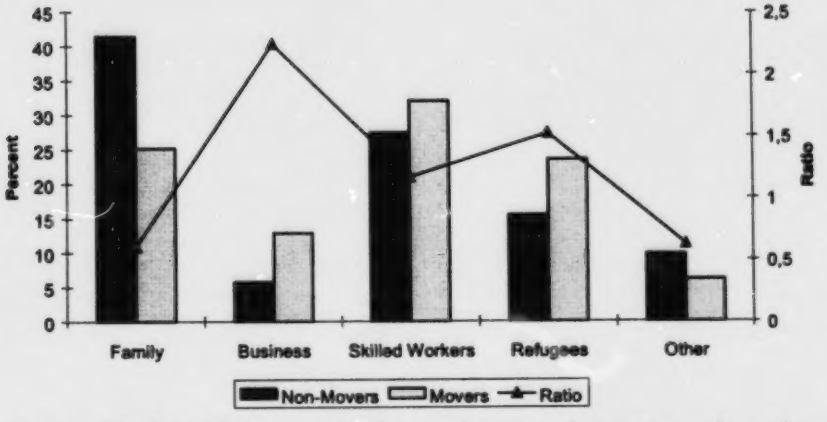
Note that higher proportions, or ratios of over-representation, do not necessarily correspond to greater **numbers** of people moving. A given category could actually constitute the majority of movers, but account for an equal proportion of both movers and non-movers. Although the number may be of significance, it would not indicate that immigrant taxfilers in that category would have any higher or lower **likelihood** of moving after landing. Where appropriate both the raw numbers and proportions will be discussed.

In general, movers are over-represented in categories of economic immigrants and refugees, and under-represented in the Family Class and "Other" immigrants ("other" immigrants include retirees, live-in-caregivers, and immigrants admitted under the backlog clearance and the administrative review programs).

The greatest relative over-representation is seen in the business class. Where this category accounts for almost 13% of immigrant taxfilers who move, it accounts for less than 6% of non-movers. With 21,420 of the 84,980 business immigrants landed over the

Chart 6

Movers and Non-Movers by Immigrant Category
1980 to 1995 Landings
- Comparative Distributions -



period and captured in the 1995 tax year having made a move between provinces (over 25% of them), they exhibit the greatest likelihood of migration of the major immigrant classes.

Refugees also show a significant degree of over representation in the population of movers – making up 23.6% of movers and about 15.5% of non-movers. Of the categories shown, they appear second most likely to move between provinces with 39,200 moving out of the 210,570 landed between 1980 and 1995 (18.6%).

Although immigrants in the skilled worker category make up some 32.1% of all movers, they also account for 27.5% of non-movers – yielding only a slight over-representation in the group of movers. With 15% of the 356,840 skilled workers landed over the period moving, they fall third to the refugee group in their propensity to move.

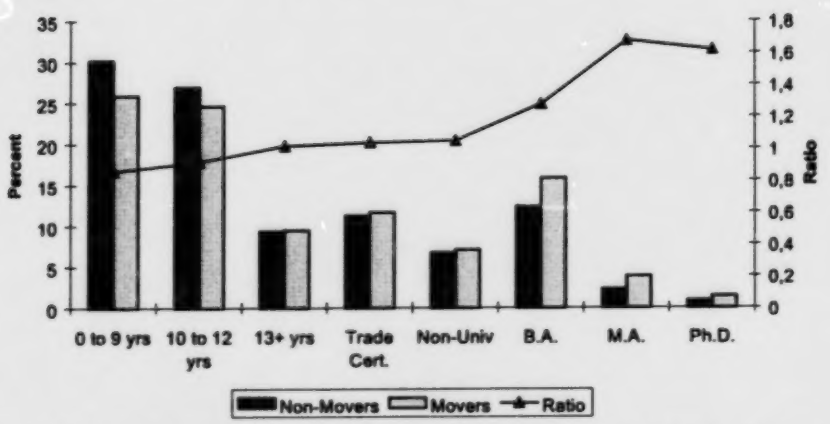
With 41,865 Family class immigrants having made an interprovincial move over the 1980 to 1995 period, they accounted for over one-quarter of all taxfilers who moved. However, with over 458,000 Family class immigrants having stayed in their province of original destination, they also accounted for over 41% of non-movers and are the immigrant category exhibiting the lowest tendency to move after landing.

Distribution by Level of Education

Because of the relatively large number of immigrant taxfilers who had less than 12 years of schooling at landing, this group accounts for 57% of all non-movers (630,980 people) and just over half of the roughly 166,000 taxfilers who moved. It is those individuals with higher levels of education, however, who demonstrated a greater **likelihood** of secondary migration. The line plotted in Chart 7 indicates that the greatest over-representation among movers by level of education occurs within the M.A. and Ph.D. categories. With

Chart 7

Movers and Non-Movers by Level of Education
1980 to 1995 Landings
- Comparative Distribution -



20% of the 43,900 immigrants with graduate degrees having moved, this education category has indeed shown the highest propensity to migrate.

Immigrants with Bachelor's degrees also account for proportionally more movers than non-movers.

Immigrants with high school education, trade certificates and non-university diplomas have fairly equal representation in both the moving and non-moving groups, whereas those with less that high school education exhibit a greater tendency to remain in their province of destination (only 11.8% moved out of their destination province over the period).

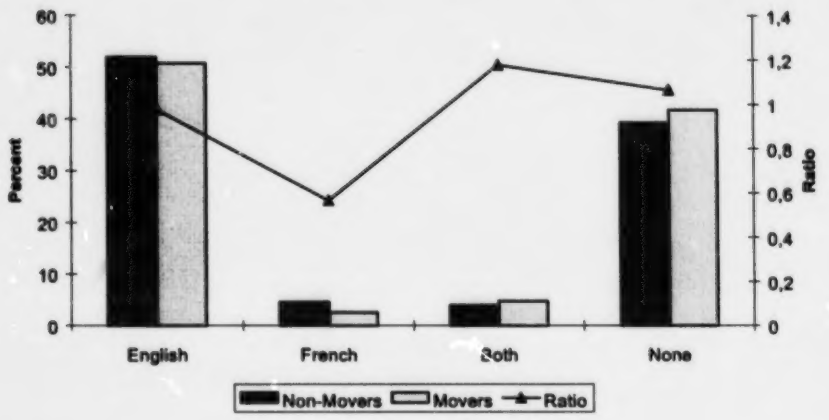
Distribution by Official Language Ability

English-speaking immigrant taxfilers and those with neither English nor French language ability make up the largest number of both the movers and non-movers. With 84,350 English-speaking immigrants having moved between 1980 and 1995, this group constitutes over half of all immigrant taxfilers who move. At the same time, some 574,500 English-speaking immigrants stayed in their destination province – again accounting for just over half of all non-movers. Immigrants with no official language ability make up an additional 69,395 movers and 434,220 non-movers (or 41.8% and 39.3% of movers and non-movers respectively).

Although the numbers are relatively small, it is those immigrants who report speaking both languages at landing who exhibit the greatest **tendency** to move. A total of 53,015 immigrant taxfilers captured in 1995 reported being bilingual at landing. By the 1995 tax year 7,970 (15%) had made an interprovincial move.

Chart 8

Movers and Non-Movers by Official Language Ability
1980 to 1995 Landings
- Comparative Distribution -

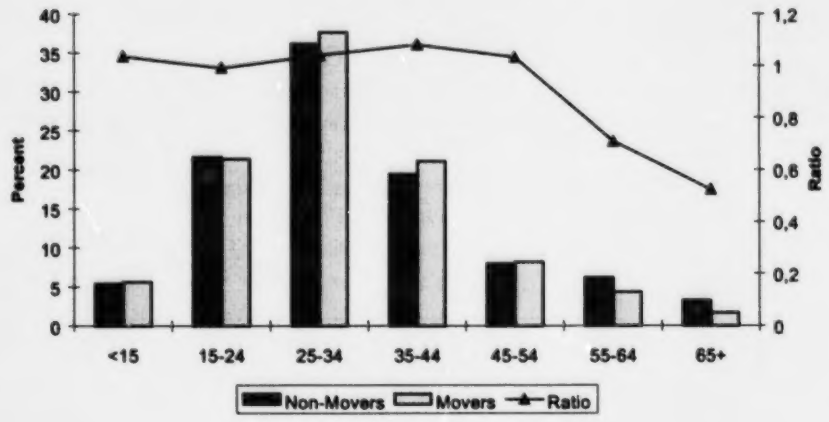


Distribution by Age and Gender

Chart 9 shows the distribution of movers and non-movers by age for male immigrant taxfilers. Chart 10 reports this information for females.

Chart 9

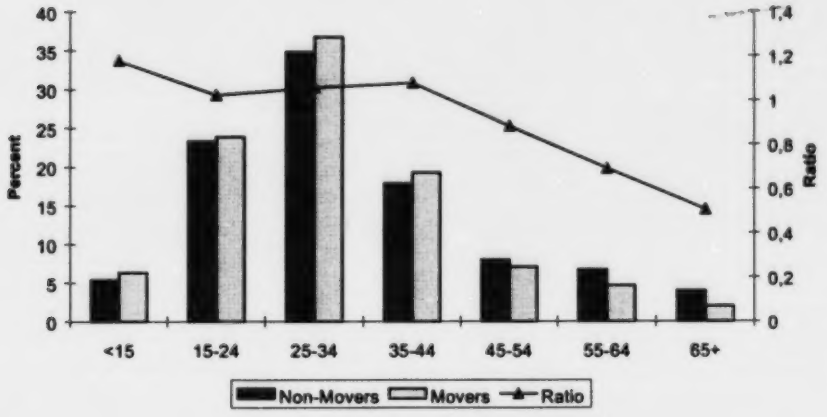
Male Movers and Non-Movers by Age at Landing
1980 to 1995 Landings
- Comparative Distribution -



Overall males had a higher propensity to move than did females. Taxfilers present in the 1995 tax year were comprised of 651,150 males and 620,355 females. Of these two groups just over 14% of males were observed moving by 1995, where 12% of females moved.

Chart 10

Female Movers and Non-Movers by Age at Landing
1980 to 1995 Landings
- Comparative Distribution -



Both genders show a slight over-representation of individuals of prime working age (25 to 44 years of age) in the group of movers. One notable difference in the migration behaviour between males and females is observed in the 45-54 year age group. Where this group shows a clear under-representation for females in the migrating population, they are still marginally over-represented for males.

Table 3 – All Taxfilers, Movers and Non-Movers by Selected Characteristic. Immigrant taxfilers landed between 1980 and 1995 and captured in the 1995 tax year.

	All Taxfilers		Non-Movers		Movers		Propensity
Admission Category	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**to Move**
Business	84,980	6.7	63,555	5.7	21,420	12.9	25.2
Family	500,035	39.3	458,170	41.4	41,865	25.2	8.4
Other	119,065	9.4	108,790	9.8	10,280	6.2	8.6
Refugees	210,570	16.6	171,370	15.5	39,200	23.6	18.6
Skilled Workers	356,840	28.1	303,495	27.5	53,355	32.1	15.0
Total	**1,271,500**	**100.0**	**1,105,380**	**100**	**166,120**	**100**	**13.1**
Level of Education	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**Propensity**
0 to 9 yrs	376,525	29.6	333,475	30.2	43,050	25.9	11.4
10 to 12 yrs	338,505	26.6	297,505	26.9	41,000	24.7	12.1
13+ yrs	118,955	9.4	103,180	9.3	15,775	9.5	13.3
Trade Cert.	144,115	11.3	124,650	11.3	19,465	11.7	13.5
Non-Univ	86,365	6.8	74,595	6.7	11,770	7.1	13.6
B.A.	163,125	12.8	136,845	12.4	26,280	15.8	16.1
M.A.	31,950	2.5	25,520	2.3	6,430	3.9	20.1
Ph.D.	11,950	0.9	9,615	0.9	2,335	1.4	19.5
Total	**1,271,490**	**100.0**	**1,105,385**	**100**	**166,105**	**100**	**13.1**
Official Language	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**Propensity**
English	658,850	51.8	574,500	52.0	84,350	50.8	12.8
French	55,630	4.4	51,265	4.6	4,365	2.6	7.8
Both	53,015	4.2	45,045	4.1	7,970	4.8	15.0
None	503,615	39.6	434,220	39.3	69,395	41.8	13.8
Unknown	385	0.0	345	0.0	40	0.0	10.4
Total	**1,271,495**	**100.0**	**1,105,375**	**100**	**166,120**	**100**	**13.1**
Males							
Age at landing	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**Propensity**
<15	35,500	5.5	30,340	5.4	5,160	5.6	14.5
15-24	140,390	21.6	120,735	21.6	19,655	21.4	14.0
25-34	236,930	36.4	202,380	36.2	34,550	37.6	14.6
35-44	128,295	19.7	108,950	19.5	19,345	21.1	15.1
45-54	52,040	8.0	44,500	8.0	7,540	8.2	14.5
55-64	38,320	5.9	34,325	6.1	3,995	4.4	10.4
65+	19,675	3.0	18,120	3.2	1,555	1.7	7.9
Total	**651,150**	**100.0**	**559,350**	**100**	**91,800**	**100**	**14.1**
Females							
Age at landing	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**Propensity**
<15	34,125	5.5	29,405	5.4	4,720	6.4	13.8
15-24	145,085	23.4	127,340	23.3	17,745	23.9	12.2
25-34	217,230	35.0	189,890	34.8	27,340	36.8	12.6
35-44	111,860	18.0	97,535	17.9	14,325	19.3	12.8
45-54	48,715	7.9	43,485	8.0	5,230	7.0	10.7
55-64	40,170	6.5	36,705	6.7	3,465	4.7	8.6
65+	23,170	3.7	21,675	4.0	1,495	2.0	6.5
Total	**620,355**	**100.0**	**546,035**	**100**	**74,320**	**100**	**12.0**

PROFILING THE MOVERS – A PROVINCIAL FOCUS

For some added detail around the characteristics of movers and non-movers, Tables 4, 5 and 6 present the same types of distributions used above, but at a provincial level. Table 4 deals with immigrant category; table 5 looks at the level of education of movers and non-movers; and official language ability is presented in table 6.

For each table the distribution, both numbers and percentages, are presented for immigrant taxfilers originally destined to each province; immigrant taxfilers who moved out of the province by the 1995 tax year, and immigrant taxfilers who moved into the province from elsewhere by 1995. In addition, the final column in each table reports the net in-migration to each province by the characteristic corresponding to the table. These tables, again, allow us to track the relative over and under representations of immigrant taxfilers with given characteristics in the group of movers *to* the province and the group of movers *away* from the province separately and compare those distributions to the population originally destined.

As a first general observation that is demonstrated in all three tables, for each province that experienced a net loss of immigrant taxfilers through secondary migration, they experienced a net loss of *all types of immigrants*. For example, in table 4, for any province that lost immigrants through migration, they registered losses for each of the immigrant classes presented. There is no province that experiences net gains in one particular immigrant category while it experiences net losses in other categories. The same observation holds for the education and language tables.

Provincial Focus on Immigrant Category

- Atlantic

Almost 31% of all out-migrants (the largest share) from the Atlantic provinces were admitted to Canada as refugees – 3,185 of the 4,335 refugees destined there over the 1980 to 1995 period (over 73%) left by the 1995 tax year. With in-migration of 330 refugees from other provinces, this category was the most severely eroded for the Atlantic. The second largest loss for the Atlantic was seen in the business class. On a net basis (after accounting for in-migration) the Atlantic was left with less than half the 3,505 business immigrants originally destined there.

Taxfilers in the skilled worker category accounted for 41.6% of all movers into the Atlantic region between 1980 and 1995, and 28.4% of movers out of the region. However, with the much larger overall out-migration the region experienced, it still saw a net loss of 1,815 immigrant taxfilers who landed in this category.

- Quebec

The class for which Quebec experienced the greatest erosion in immigrant taxfilers was the business class. Almost 48% (10,770 out of 22,595) of business immigrants destined to Quebec over the 1980 to 1995 period were resident in other provinces in the 1995 tax year. Having gained only 800 through in-migration over the same period there was still a net loss of over 44% of immigrant taxfilers from this class. Quebec also experienced a net

loss of 6,635 taxfilers who landed in the refugee category over the period – a net loss of 17.5% from the number originally destined there.

At the same time Quebec lost a disproportionately low number of skilled workers on a net basis. Although the province lost almost one-sixth of the 68,520 skilled workers destined there over the period, this loss was cut in half with 5,400 skilled workers moving in from other provinces by 1995.

- Ontario

In absolute terms the largest net increase in Ontario's immigrant taxfiler population over the period was seen in the refugee category – having gained 21,220 through in-migration while losing 7,485 to other provinces. In proportional terms, however, the largest increase for the province came in the business class. Even after having accounted for the out-migration of some 3,140 business immigrants destined to Ontario, the in-migration of 10,280 from other provinces by 1995 left the province with 28% more business immigrants than were originally destined.

- Manitoba

The greatest net loss experienced by Manitoba over the period was seen in the refugee category - with almost half of the 10,945 refugees originally destined to the province having moved out by 1995 and only 615 moving in. Significant losses were also seen for taxfilers admitted through the Family class and skilled worker category (net losses of 3,290 and 2,730 respectively).

In percentage terms, their stock of business immigrants was also eroded substantially through migration – having lost (on a net basis) almost one-third of the 2,145 destined there.

- Saskatchewan

As with Manitoba, Saskatchewan lost more refugees than any other category on a net basis. By 1995 there were 3,530 fewer taxfilers who landed in this category resident in Saskatchewan than were originally destined there - a net loss of 62%. They also saw an erosion of taxfilers in the business class of 62% ending up with 700 fewer than the 1,125 destined there between 1980 and 1995.

- Alberta

By the 1995 tax year, Alberta experienced out-migration of over 10,000 skilled workers and almost 6,900 refugee taxfilers who were destined there. This was tempered somewhat by inflows of 5,475 and 3,720 immigrants in the respective categories – leaving the province with net losses of 13.3% of their skilled workers and almost 15% of their refugee taxfilers over the period.

The business class was the most eroded category of immigrant taxfilers from Alberta in percentage terms. Of the 5,420 business immigrants originally destined to Alberta at landing, 2,030 had moved out by 1995. In-migration of almost 1,000 business immigrants from other provinces still left Alberta with 20% fewer than were destined there.

- British Columbia

The largest net increase for the province of British Columbia, in absolute terms, was seen in the skilled worker category. With a net gain of 9,740 taxfilers in this category by the 1995 tax year, B.C. had almost 21% more skilled workers than were originally destined there.

In proportional terms, however, British Columbia saw its greatest increases in the categories of business immigrants and refugees through secondary migration. Having accounted for both in and out-migration, B.C. had almost 43% more refugees in 1995 as compared to the number originally destined there. The increase in business immigrants was just over 28% - a net increase of 6,955 over the 24,625 destined there at landing.

Provincial Focus on Level of Education

The distributions of movers in and out of each province by level of education are fairly uniform (i.e. if the province lost 20% of its immigrants through migration, it lost roughly the same proportion in each of the educational categories) with some notable exceptions.

The Atlantic provinces lost a disproportionately high number of immigrant taxfilers with 0 to 12 years of schooling while it better retained those with graduate degrees. On a net basis the Atlantic lost over 42% of its immigrant taxfilers with 0 to 12 years of schooling by the 1995 tax year (3,950/9,335), but lost only 20.9% of those with Master's Degrees or Doctorates. This same pattern is seen for the provinces of Quebec and Saskatchewan.

Although the net gain through migration was fairly evenly distributed across education levels for Ontario, there was greater variation seen for British Columbia. The greatest increases for B.C., by education level, were in the categories of trade certificates and non-university diplomas. With net in-migration of 4,835 and 2,850 respectively, increases of 24.2% and 22.2% of immigrant taxfilers with these educational qualifications was seen for the province up to the 1995 tax year.

Provincial Focus on Official Language Ability

The greatest losses for the Atlantic Provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan were of immigrants who reported no official language ability at landing. Of almost 6,000 immigrant taxfilers with no English or French language ability destined to the Atlantic over the 1980 to 1995 period, 4,000 left the region by 1995 – over the same time period only 445 moved in. A loss of similar magnitude was seen in Saskatchewan – on a net basis the province was left with almost 58% fewer allophones than were originally destined there.

Immigrant taxfilers who reported ability in English at landing was the group which experienced the highest erosion from the province of Quebec. By 1995 Quebec was left with over 24% fewer immigrant taxfilers who spoke English only at landing. In contrast to this, Quebec saw a net loss of only 3.7% of immigrants who reported only French language ability.

The two language groups significantly over represented among movers into the province of British Columbia were French and bilingual. Although relatively few immigrant taxfilers with these language profiles were destined to British Columbia between 1980 and 1995 (815 reporting French language ability and 3,250 reporting ability in both

English and French), net in-migration to B.C. increased the number of taxfilers who spoke English or were bilingual by 64.4% and 31.5% respectively by the 1995 tax year.

Table 4
Movers and Non-Movers by Category of Immigration and Province
Immigrants Landed Between 1980 and 1995 – 1995 Tax Year

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		Destined at Landing		Out-migration		In-migration		Net
		#	%	#	%	#	%	In-migration
Atlantic	Business	3505	16.3	2025	19.6	220	8.3	-1805
	Family	5975	27.8	1995	19.3	900	33.6	-1095
	Other	970	4.5	190	1.8	115	4.2	-75
	Refugee	4335	20.1	3185	30.8	330	12.3	-2855
	Skilled Worker	6730	31.3	2930	28.4	1115	41.6	-1815
		21515	100.0	10325	100.0	2680	100.0	-7645
Quebec	Business	22595	10.5	10770	24.5	800	6.3	-9970
	Family	65560	30.5	8090	18.4	3210	25.2	-4880
	Other	20085	9.4	4800	10.9	540	4.3	-4260
	Refugee	37920	17.7	9385	21.4	2750	21.6	-6635
	Skilled Worker	68520	31.9	10875	24.8	5400	42.5	-5475
		214680	100.0	43920	100.0	12700	100.0	-31220
Ontario	Business	25525	3.8	3140	7.8	10280	13.5	7140
	Family	271120	40.6	10895	27.1	17085	22.4	6190
	Other	72355	10.8	2585	6.4	5355	7.0	2770
	Refugee	113810	17.0	7485	18.6	21220	27.8	13735
	Skilled Worker	185780	27.8	16170	40.2	22345	29.3	6175
		668590	100.0	40275	100.0	76285	100.0	36010
Manitoba	Business	2145	5.1	840	5.9	140	5.0	-700
	Family	17545	41.9	4215	29.5	925	33.5	-3290
	Other	1015	2.4	300	2.1	115	4.2	-185
	Refugee	10945	26.1	5250	36.7	615	22.3	-4635
	Skilled Worker	10210	24.4	3695	25.9	965	35.0	-2730
		41860	100.0	14300	100.0	2760	100.0	-11540
Saskatchewan	Business	1125	6.9	800	8.7	100	5.8	-700
	Family	4570	28.1	1985	21.6	535	31.7	-1450
	Other	445	2.7	190	2.0	60	3.5	-130
	Refugee	5660	34.7	3835	41.8	305	17.9	-3530
	Skilled Worker	4495	27.6	2375	25.8	700	41.1	-1675
		16295	100.0	9185	100.0	1700	100.0	-7485
Alberta	Business	5420	4.8	2030	7.0	990	6.4	-1040
	Family	45890	40.6	8740	30.2	4905	31.5	-3835
	Other	6145	5.4	1225	4.2	485	3.1	-740
	Refugee	21475	19.0	6895	23.8	3720	23.9	-3175
	Skilled Worker	34205	30.2	10050	34.7	5475	35.2	-4575
		113135	100.0	28940	100.0	15575	100.0	-13365
B.C.	Business	24625	12.7	1790	9.8	8745	16.6	6955
	Family	89040	45.8	5595	30.6	13690	26.0	8095
	Other	18020	9.3	955	5.2	3530	6.7	2575
	Refugee	16345	8.4	3090	16.9	10085	19.2	6995
	Skilled Worker	46535	23.9	6880	37.6	16620	31.6	9740
		194565	100.0	18310	100.0	52670	100.0	34360

Table 5
Movers and Non-Movers by Level of Education at Landing and Province
Immigrants Landed Between 1980 and 1995 – 1995 Tax Year

		Destined at Landing		Out-migration		In-migration		Net
		#	%	#	%	#	%	In-migration
Atlantic	0 to 12 yrs	9335	43.4	4815	46.6	865	32.2	-3950
	13+ yrs	2085	9.7	975	9.5	265	10.0	-710
	Trade Cert	2510	11.7	1100	10.7	290	10.9	-810
	Non-Univ	1620	7.5	660	6.4	230	8.5	-430
	B.A.	3940	18.3	1980	19.2	655	24.6	-1325
	M.A./Ph.D.	2025	9.4	795	7.7	370	13.8	-425
		21515	100.0	10325	100.0	2675	100.0	-7650
Quebec	0 to 12 yrs	122090	56.9	23840	54.3	5475	43.1	-18365
	13+ yrs	21480	10.0	4655	10.6	1220	9.6	-3435
	Trade Cert	23530	11.0	4640	10.6	1240	9.8	-3400
	Non-Univ	13925	6.5	2880	6.6	820	6.5	-2060
	B.A.	25900	12.1	6295	14.3	2505	19.7	-3790
	M.A./Ph.D.	7755	3.6	1610	3.7	1435	11.3	-175
		214680	100.0	43920	100.0	12695	100.0	-31225
Ontario	0 to 12 yrs	378285	56.6	17890	44.4	40615	53.2	22725
	13+ yrs	61510	9.2	3830	9.5	7210	9.5	3380
	Trade Cert	77410	11.6	5170	12.8	8375	11.0	3205
	Non-Univ	46485	7.0	3300	8.2	4915	6.4	1615
	B.A.	84265	12.6	7260	18.0	11705	15.3	4445
	M.A./Ph.D.	20635	3.1	2820	7.0	3470	4.5	650
		668590	100.0	40270	100.0	76290	100.0	36020
Manitoba	0 to 12 yrs	24535	58.6	8000	55.9	1255	45.5	-6745
	13+ yrs	3660	8.7	1155	8.1	275	9.8	-880
	Trade Cert	4595	11.0	1790	12.5	350	12.8	-1440
	Non-Univ	2250	5.4	825	5.8	195	7.0	-630
	B.A.	5380	12.9	1925	13.4	465	16.9	-1460
	M.A./Ph.D.	1435	3.4	615	4.3	220	8.0	-395
		41855	100.0	14310	100.0	2760	100.0	-11550
Saskatchewan	0 to 12 yrs	8550	52.4	4995	54.4	665	39.0	-4330
	13+ yrs	1355	8.3	765	8.3	160	9.5	-605
	Trade Cert	1895	11.6	1090	11.9	205	12.0	-885
	Non-Univ	1095	6.7	595	6.5	110	6.7	-485
	B.A.	2250	13.8	1215	13.2	305	18.0	-910
	M.A./Ph.D.	1155	7.1	525	5.7	250	14.7	-275
		16300	100.0	9185	100.0	1695	100.0	-7490
Alberta	0 to 12 yrs	61930	54.7	14945	51.6	8050	51.7	-6895
	13+ yrs	10050	8.9	2575	8.9	1325	8.5	-1250
	Trade Cert	14115	12.5	3635	12.6	2025	13.0	-1610
	Non-Univ	8090	7.1	2130	7.4	1195	7.7	-935
	B.A.	14665	13.0	4360	15.1	2160	13.8	-2200
	M.A./Ph.D.	4295	3.8	1305	4.5	825	5.3	-480
		113145	100.0	28950	100.0	15580	100.0	-13370
B.C.	0 to 12 yrs	109890	56.5	9145	49.9	26565	50.4	17420
	13+ yrs	18730	9.6	1745	9.5	5115	9.7	3370
	Trade Cert	19955	10.3	1925	10.5	6760	12.8	4835
	Non-Univ	12825	6.6	1295	7.1	4145	7.9	2850
	B.A.	26595	13.7	3125	17.1	8085	15.4	4960
	M.A./Ph.D.	6575	3.4	1070	5.8	2000	3.8	930
		194570	100.0	18305	100.0	52670	100.0	34365

Table 6
Movers and Non-Movers by Official Language Ability and Province
Immigrants Landed Between 1980 and 1995 – 1995 Tax Year

		Destined at Landing		Out-migration		In-migration		Net
		#	%	#	%	#	%	In-migration
Atlantic	English	14180	65.9	5820	56.3	1945	72.7	-3875
	French	320	1.5	150	1.4	70	2.6	-80
	Both	1020	4.7	355	3.4	215	8.0	-140
	None	5995	27.8	4000	38.7	445	16.7	-3555
	Unknown	5	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
		21520	100.0	10325	100.0	2675	100.0	-7650
Quebec	English	56965	26.5	19320	44.0	5515	43.4	-13805
	French	47175	22.0	2750	6.3	1020	8.0	-1730
	Both	31865	14.8	3905	8.9	1760	13.9	-2145
	None	78590	36.6	17925	40.8	4410	34.7	-13515
	Unknown	85	0.0	10	0.0	5	0.0	-5
		214680	100.0	43910	100.0	12710	100.0	-31200
Ontario	English	393795	58.9	22655	56.3	37135	48.7	14480
	French	6180	0.9	910	2.3	2335	3.1	1425
	Both	14215	2.1	2160	5.4	3725	4.9	1565
	None	254205	38.0	14530	36.1	33070	43.3	18540
	Unknown	200	0.0	10	0.0	25	0.0	15
		668595	100.0	40265	100.0	76290	100.0	38025
Manitoba	English	21900	52.3	6505	45.5	1645	59.7	-4860
	French	250	0.6	85	0.6	35	1.3	-50
	Both	505	1.2	220	1.5	100	3.6	-120
	None	19190	45.8	7495	52.4	980	35.4	-6515
	Unknown	10	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
		41855	100.0	14305	100.0	2760	100.0	-11545
Saskatchewan	English	8000	49.1	3920	42.7	1160	68.1	-2760
	French	95	0.6	60	0.6	10	0.5	-50
	Both	285	1.7	155	1.7	60	3.7	-95
	None	7910	48.6	5045	54.9	470	27.7	-4575
	Unknown	5	0.0	5	0.0	0	0.0	-5
		16295	100.0	9185	100.0	1700	100.0	-7485
Alberta	English	61480	54.3	15560	53.7	8585	55.1	-6975
	French	780	0.7	250	0.9	185	1.2	-65
	Both	1850	1.6	615	2.1	415	2.6	-200
	None	49005	43.3	12515	43.2	6385	41.0	-6130
	Unknown	25	0.0	5	0.0	0	0.0	-5
		113140	100.0	28945	100.0	15570	100.0	-13375
B.C.	English	101975	52.4	10025	54.7	27150	51.6	17125
	French	815	0.4	130	0.7	655	1.2	525
	Both	3250	1.7	520	2.9	1545	2.9	1025
	None	88470	45.5	7620	41.6	23295	44.2	15675
	Unknown	50	0.0	5	0.0	15	0.0	10
		194560	100.0	18300	100.0	52660	100.0	34360

ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF MOVERS AND NON-MOVERS

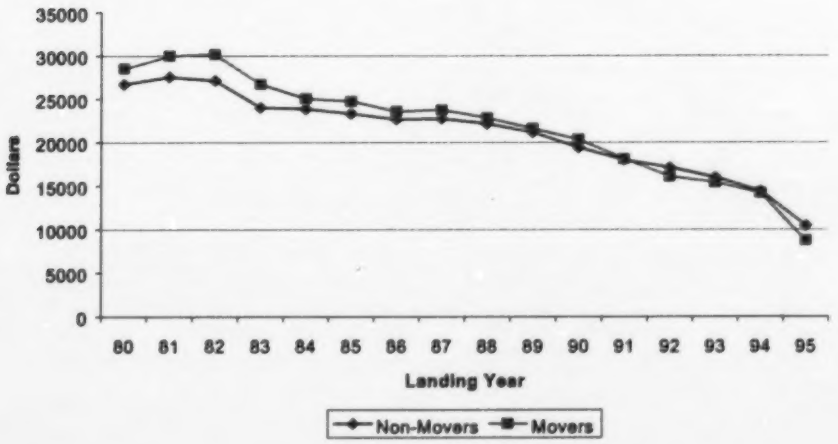
As with the majority of information presented so far, measures of economic performance for both movers and non-movers is captured in the 1995 tax year. In this section, however, the measures of employment earnings, incidence of unemployment insurance benefits and incidence of social assistance benefits are presented *for each immigrant cohort separately* to minimize difficulties in interpreting these measures when cohorts who have been in Canada for different lengths of time are grouped together.

Employment Earnings

As chart 11 demonstrates, immigrant taxfilers in paid employment who move after landing in Canada tended to earn more on the labour market than did immigrants who stayed in their province of original destination - particularly for immigrant movers who landed prior to 1991. For 1991 landings and later, employment earnings for movers were about the same or slightly below the average earnings of non-movers. Although other factors enter into the decision to move (such as proximity to ethnic communities, language and religion, for example), this may suggest that there are economic benefits to secondary migration, particularly over the longer term.

Chart 11

Average Employment Earnings for Movers and Non-Movers by Landing Year Cohort - 1995 Tax Year



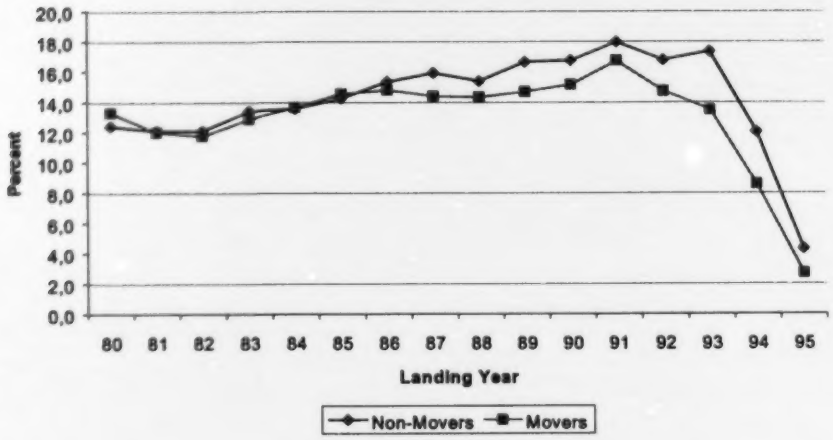
Incidence of Unemployment Insurance Benefits Reported

For landings after 1986 we see a lower incidence of reporting UI benefits among the population of movers than we do for non-movers. For immigrants landed over the 1980 to 1986 period, the proportion of immigrant taxfilers reporting UI benefits is about the same for both movers and non-movers. This again may indicate that migration is a function of economic opportunities outside of the immigrant's province of original destination and that those people moving to take advantage of those opportunities are

relying on the Unemployment Insurance system less as a result. Over the longer term, however, the UI claimancy rate observed for movers and non-movers appears roughly the same.

Chart 12

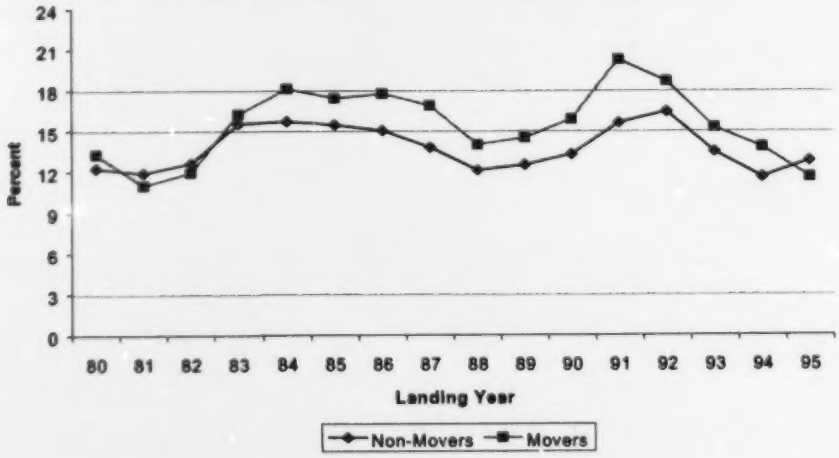
Incidence of Unemployment Benefits for Movers and Non-Movers by Landing Year Cohort - 1995 Tax Year



Incidence of Social Assistance Benefits Reported

For all immigrant taxfilers landed between 1980 and 1995 who filed taxes in the 1995 tax year, 15.4% of movers reported receiving social assistance benefits compared to 13.7% of non-movers. Chart 13 shows, with the exception of immigrant taxfilers landed in the very early 1980's or those landed in 1995, that movers generally report a higher incidence of social assistance usage than do non-movers. Whether this is the result of people moving for economic opportunities but being unable to acquire them, or of people

Chart 13 **Incidence of Social Assistance Benefits for Movers and Non-Movers by Landing Year Cohort - 1995 Tax Year**



moving to take advantage of greater social program benefits of certain provinces is unclear.

For some added detail around the differential performance of movers and non-movers, and given the different propensities of immigrant groups to move from their province of destination, Table 7 reports the numbers and distributions of the major immigrant classes who reported the three major sources of income reported above.

Table 7 – Distribution of movers and non-movers by immigrant category and type of income – 1995 tax year, immigrants landed between 1980 and 1995

Non-Movers

	Total #	# with S.A.	% with S.A.	# with U.I.	% with U.I.	# with Emp	% with Emp	Average Earnings
Business	63,555	1,090	1.7	2,560	4.0	26,290	41.4	$16,184
Family	458,175	58,425	12.8	74,155	16.2	280,595	61.2	$17,623
Other	108,790	16,180	14.9	18,260	16.8	73,070	67.2	$17,910
Refugee	171,370	51,960	30.3	26,300	15.3	107,145	62.5	$19,403
Skilled Worker	303,490	24,275	8.0	39,065	12.9	220,510	72.7	$24,772
TOTAL	1,105,380	151,930	13.7	160,340	14.5	707,610	64.0	$20,097

Movers

	Total #	# with S.A.	% with S.A.	# with U.I.	% with U.I.	# with Emp	% with Emp	Average Earnings
Business	21,425	395	1.8	835	3.9	8,405	39.2	$15,298
Family	41,860	6,415	15.3	7,010	16.7	24,895	59.5	$20,136
Other	10,280	2,420	23.5	1,395	13.6	5,380	52.3	$16,939
Refugee	39,200	12,775	32.6	6,510	16.6	23,960	61.1	$20,139
Skilled Worker	53,355	3,660	6.9	6,110	11.5	37,520	70.3	$26,770
TOTAL	166,120	25,665	15.4	21,860	13.2	100,160	60.3	$22,044

Fully one-half of the 25,665 movers who reported receiving social assistance in the 1995 tax year landed in Canada in the refugee category. Another one-quarter came to Canada in the family class. However, in proportion to the number of taxfilers in these two categories among movers overall, they exhibit only a slightly higher reliance on social assistance as compared to non-movers in the same categories: 32.6% of refugees and 15.3% of family class immigrants who moved reported social assistance in 1995 as compared to 30.3% and 12.8% of refugees and family class immigrants, respectively, who did not move.

The one category which is substantially over represented, in proportional terms, among movers who reported benefits from social assistance is the "other" category (consisting of immigrants admitted under the backlog clearance and administrative review programs and those admitted as retirees and live-in-caregivers). While less than 15% of non-movers in the "other" category received S.A. in 1995, 23.5% of this group among the movers reported it.

Between movers and non-movers, the "other" category also shows a lower percentage in receipt of unemployment insurance benefits. Some 13.6% of taxfilers in this category who moved received UI in 1995 versus 16.8% of those who stayed in their province of destination.

Irrespective of immigrant category, a smaller proportion of taxfilers who moved after landing reported employment earnings as compared to their non-moving counterparts. However, those who landed in the family class, skilled worker category and those admitted as refugees who moved after landing and *did* report earnings from paid employment in 1995 tended to earn more than those who stayed in the original province of destination. On the other hand, immigrants who came in the business and "other" categories who moved earned quite a bit less than those who did not move.